

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MILAN 2646

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJECT: PROBABLE DC PROVINCIAL SECRETARY ROBERTO MAZZOTTA

SUMMARY: NEW MILAN DC LEADER MAZZOTTA EXPLAINS HIS AIMS, ATTITUDE
TOWARD COMMUNISTS, ANDREOTTI AND DECAROLIS.

1. ROBERTO MAZZOTTA, 37, IS A YOUNGISH APPEARING, CAREFULLY
DRESSED, FRIENDLY MAN WITH BLACK HAIR WHO LAUGHS EASILY AND
ESTABLISHES RAPORT READILY. LONG KNOWN TO CONSULATE AND PROPOSED FOR
LEADER GRANT IN 1970 MAZZOTTA HIGHLY REGARDED BY CONSULATE IN
PAST BUT LOST TO LOCAL VIEW AFTER ELECTION TO CHAMBER AND RISE IN
ROME. IN VIEW HIS SUDDENLY CRUCIAL ROLE, CONGEN SOUGHT HIM OUT
AND FOLLOWING IN MAZZOTTA'S POSITION ON EVE OF CONGRESS WHICH
AS FORESEEN, PROPELLED HIM TO CENTER STAGE. HIS ELECTION AS
PROVINCIAL SECRETARY EXPECTED SHORTLY.

2. MAZZOTTS SAID THAT HE HAD BROKEN WITH MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE
MARCORA, WHO WAS HIS GREAT FRIEND AND CONTINUED TO BE SO, BECAUSE
OF A DIFFERING JUDGEMENT ABOUT THE POLITICAL SITUATION. HE HAD
ALSO BROKEN WITH GRANELLI ANDBASSETTI AND ALL THIS WAS CAUSING
HIM SOME MISERY. BUT HE THOUGHT IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT THE
CHRISTAIN DEMOCRATS NOT ACCEPT THE INEVITABILITY OF COMMUNIST
MEMBERSHIP IN GOVERNMENT. IT WAS NOT THAT HIS COLLEAGUES ON
THE LEFT WERE PRO- COMMUNISTS. IT WAS JUST THAT THEY THOUGHT
THAT THERE WAS NO LONGER ANY HOPE OF PREVENTING THE COMMUNISTS'

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ENTERING THE GOVERNMENT OR OF RULING ITALY IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM UNLESS AN ACCOMODATION WERE MADE WITH THEM. HE WAS NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT THAT INEVITABILITY. HE BELIEVED THAT THE CHRISTIAN DECOCRATS HAD TO MAKE CLEAR TO THE COMMUNISTS AND TO THE PUBLIC THAT THERE WAS A POINT BEYOND WHICH THE PARTY WOULD NOT GO IN MAKING CONCESSIONS. THAT POINT WAS THE DEGREE OF COLLABORATION THAT ANDROTTI HAD ALREADY ESTABLISHED. HE DID NOT WANT TO UPSET THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT. BUT HE WANTED ANDREOTTI AND THE COMMUNIST TO KNOW THAT ONE STEP FARTHER WOULD BE TOO

MUCH. THE GOLFARI COMPROMISE WITH THE COMMUNISTS IN LOMBARDY WAS TOO FAR. AND HE INTENDED TO FORCE A PULL-BACK FROM THAT POSITION. IT WAS A LITTLE TOO SOON NOW, BUT IN THE NEXT FEW MONTHS THAT WAS HIS HOPE.

3. ADMISSION OF THE COMMUNISTS TO THE GOVERNMENT WAS NOT THE SOLUTION TO ITALY'S ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE COMMUNISTS WERE NOT ABOUT TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE RESTORATION OF A LIBERAL MIXED ECONOMY.

THE COMMUNISTS WOULD ATTEMPT TO PUSH FARTHER IN THE DIRECTION OF A SOCIALIST SOCIETY. THAT WOULD ONLY MAKE THINGS EVEN WORSE. MOREOVER, IF THE COMMUNISTS CAME INTO THE GOVERNMENT THERE WOULD BE INCREASES CAPITAL FLIGHT AND EVEN GREATER TEMERITY ABOUT MAKING THE INVESTMENTS THAT WERE NECESSARY TO KEEP THE ECONOMY GOING AND EXPANDING. AND THE COMMUNISTS WOULD NOT SIMPLY OCCUPY INSIGNIFICANT MINISTERIAL POSTS. THEY WOULD INEVITABLY LEAVE THEIR IMPRINT ON ITALY' GOVERNANCE AND ITALY WOULD BE HEADED FOR A DECADE OF MORE OR LESS AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENT THAT WOULD CUT IT OFF FROM EUROPE. THE COMMUNISTS WOULD IMPOSE GREATER AUTARKY ON THE COUNTRY IN ORDER TO MEET ITS INTERNAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND WHILE THEY WOULD MAKE THE WORKERS SWALLOW THE PILL, THEY WOULD SIMPLE DETACH ITALY FROM THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES AND FROM THE REST OF THE OPEN WORLD. IN THE END, HE THOUGHT THAT WOULD LEAD TO A RESURGENCE OF SOCIALISM AS A REACTION. BUT TEN YEARS OF ISOLATION WAS A TERRIBLE PRICE TO PAY.

4. MAZZOTTA WAS NOT FAVORABLE TO PRECIPITATING NEW NATIONAL ELECTIONS. HOWEVER, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY HAD TO BE CLEAR TO ITSELF AND BE CLEAR TO THE COMMUNIST THAT IT WAS QUITE CONFIDENTIAL

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PREPARED TO FACE THOSE ELECTION IF FORCED TO DO SO. IT MUST MAKE CLEAR TO THE COMMUNISTS THAT ANDREOTTI CAN GO NO FURTHER. IT MUST MAKE CLEAR THAT IF THE COMMUNIST OPPOSE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT AND FORCE ITS FALL, THE LAY PARTIES ARE THEN ON THE SPOT TO DECIDE WHETHER 1) THEY ARE PREPARED TO FORM A MAJORITY WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ON A SPECIFIC PROGRAM OR 2) TO THROW IN THEIR LOT WITH THE COMMUNISTS FOR A GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT OR 3) TO FACE NEW ELECTIONS. HE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT THE

MINOR PARTIES COULD BRING THEMSELVES TO A GOVERNMENT WITH THE COMMUNISTS EVEN IF THE COMMUNISTS WOULD HAVE THEM, WHICH HE DOUBTED. AS FOR ELECTIONS, HE THOUGHT THE COMMUNISTS WERE AS LITTLE EAGER TO HAVE THEM AS ANYBODY ELSE AND HE WOULD NOT PREDICT THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS WOULD EMERGE WITH A MAJORITY OF THEIR OWN. BUT IT WAS A RISK THAT THE PARTY HAD TO BE PREPARED TO TAKE.

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5. THE OPERATION HE WAS UNDERTAKING WAS PAINFUL. BUT SOMEONE HAD TO STAND UP AND BE EXPOSED TO FIRE IN ORDER TO POSE THE PROBLEM CLEARLY AND TO PREPARE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR THE INEVITABLE REQUEST OF THE COMMUNISTS FOR ONE MORE SLICE OF CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC SALAMI. HE EXPECTED TO PREVAIL IN THE MILAN PROVINCIAL CONGRESS ON DECEMBER 4-5 AND TO DEVOTE THE NEXT FOUR MONTHS TO AN INTENSIVE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE REST OF LOMBARDY TO SWING THE PARTY THERE INTO THE SAME POSITION. AND THEN HE WOULD BE WORKING ON THE REST OF ITALY AS WELL. HE AND HIS SUPPORTERS INTENDED THIS MOVEMENT TO SAY NO TO THE COMMUNISTS TO RANGE FROM SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY TO CENTRAL ITALY AND THE NORTH. IT WAS BEGINNING IN THE NORTH, AS MOST ITALIAN POLITICAL EVOLUTION BEGAN. BUT IT HAD TO EXTEND THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY IN ORDER TO BE CONVINCING. TAKING ON THE SECRETARYSHIP OF THE DC AT THE PROVINCIAL LEVEL WOULD NOT BE A BED OF ROSES. HE WOULD RESIGN AS UNDERSECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE IN ORDER TO DEVOTE HIS FULL TIME TO IT. HE HAD ALREADY INFORMED ZACCAGNINI OF THAT

6. RELATIONS WITH DECAROLIS WERE A CENTRAL QUESTION. MAZZOTTA SAID IT UNWISE THAT THE MOVEMENT CALL A HALT TO FURTHER CONCESSIONS TO THE COMMUNIST SHOULD BE PERSONIFIED BY DECAROLIS. HE REPRESENTED A CONSERVATIVE, RIGHT- WING ELECTORATE THAT WAS IMPORTANT. BUT IT WAS EQUALLY IMPORTANT THAT THE IMAGE OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHOULD BE FARTHER TO THE LEFT IN THIS OPERATION. CONSEQUENTLY, HE DID NOT WISH TO APPEAR TO CONFIDENTIAL

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BE TOO CLOSE TO DECAROLIS IN CREATING A UNIFIED MOVEMENT. THE IMPORTANT THING WAS TO MARCH SEPARATELY BUT TO STRIKE TOGETHER. THE PRESS WAS ATTEMPTING TO EXPLOIT DECAROLIS' POSITION TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY. HERE DECAROLIS THOUGHT HE WAS USING PRESS BUT THE PRESS WAS ALSO USING HIM. DECAROLIS WAS A VERY INTELLIGENT MAN. HE REPRESENTED SIGNIFICANT SPECTRUM OF THE PUBLIC. AND THE ATTACKS THAT HAD BEEN MADE UPON HIM BY DC OFFICIALS IN ROME WERE SIMPLY STUPID. THEY WERE MISREPRESENTING DECAROLIS' POSITION ANDHIS CHARACTER. THEY WERE ATTACKS BEING MADE BY THOSE WHO, ON THE ONE HAND, OPPOSED HIS ANTI-COMMUNISM AND WHO, ON THE OTHER HAND, OPPOSED HIS DESIRE TO PURGE THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF ITS HISTORIC LEADERS. THE FACT WAS, SAID MAZZOTTA, THAT AS THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY GOT INTO A CRUNCH, IT WAS GOING TO NEED THE YOUNGER, MORE GUTSY LEADER LIKE DECAROLIS.

7. IN CONCLUSION, MAZZOTTA DESCRIBED THE EFFORT BEING MADE BY HIMSELF AND THE OTHERS WHO WERE TRYING TO TURN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY AROUND, AS A COUNTER-BALANCE TO THE OTHER FORCES THAT WERE BEING BROUGHT TO BEAR ON ANDREOTTI. IT WAS ESSENTIAL THAT ANDREOTTI NOT FEEL THAT THE ONLY PRESSURE WAS IN FAVOR OF FURTHER ACCOMODATION WITH THE COMMUNISTS. HE HAD TO FEEL, AND HE HAD TO BE ABLE TO SHOW THE COMMUNISTS, THAT THERE WAS A SIGNIFICANT OTHER PRESSURE THAT HE HAD FULLY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT. IN THAT SENSE, MAZZOTTA CONTENDED, THE MOVEMENT THAT HE WAS HEADING IN LOMBARDA WOULD STRENGTHEN ANDREOTTI'S HAND RATHER THAN WEAKEN IT.

8. COMMENT. MAZZOTTA'S ANALYSIS OF HIS RELATION WITH DECAROLIS AS MARCHING SEPARATELY TO STRIKE TOGETHER IS SINGLE MOST ILLUMINATING INSIGHT WE HAVE HAD TO UNDERSTAND CONTROLLING RELATIONSHIP AMONG DC CENTER, RIGHT AND ANTI-COMMUNIST LEFT FACTIONS.FINA

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